1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

1: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

10: Anthony--150 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
-116, 684

"Sternest discipline, however, awaits any woman, who is found to be unfaithful to her husband. Even for the first offense an extremely cruel punishment is inflicted. The erring woman is thrown to the ground and held there while her husband, using the long, heavy machete or brush knife, cuts down on her head as hard as he dares to do without acutally killing her. He cuts a number of times in one direction and then again at right angles, so that when the woman is released her hair is all chopped bits and she is streaming blood.

If this treatment does not deter her from a second manifestation of infidelity, an even more rigorous punishment awaits her. She is pinned to the earth by the large lance or spear used by the men, the spear being thrust through the fleshy parts of the legs and and then deep into the ground. She is kept thus for several days or even as long as three weeks, being given food and water and sufficient attention to preserve life. The punishment for the third offense is death outright."

28: Tessman--362 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 684

Adultery is regarded as a serious crime. A husband is allowed to kill the adulterer if he catches him in the act. If the adultery is revealed at a later date, the scalps of the woman and her paramour are scratched with spines until blood is flowing all over their faces.

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venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

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chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tawaspä* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*tsabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *tsabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
[605] with his daughter, one of the girl's *tsabe* (male cross-cousin
[586] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
elder brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
587 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his
593 elder parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If
the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his elder
brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the elder
son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the
elder brother inheriting plural wives, or the elder son in-
heriting material possessions, should distribute some of his
new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass
puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common
offense since there is great competition for recent widows.
If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to
her deceased husband's elder brother, or to the elder male
parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the elder brother
or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the
deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the
household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[628] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the kill-
ings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her elder daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[587] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

682 The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the [684] two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the ammunition attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual ammunition raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
[628] surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[682] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading ammunition raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[773] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jivaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hang-
[593] ing from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[684] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes, when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*uunt*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *uunt* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jivaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge